

# Sound and Sense: Chōka Theory and Nativist Philology in Early Modern Japan and Beyond

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Poetry simply must attempt to elevate its arbitrary signs to the status of natural signs; only in this way does it differentiate itself from prose and become poetry.

[Die Poesie muß schlechterdings ihre willkürlichen Zeichen zu natürlichen zu erheben suchen; und nur dadurch unterscheidet sie sich von der Prosa, und wird Poesie.]

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781)<sup>1</sup>

By the end of the Heian period (794–1185), waka poetics had already achieved a high degree of sophistication with various schools whose arguments demonstrated carefully honed sensibilities in matters of diction and association of imagery. Such works as Fujiwara no Shunzei's 藤原俊成 (1114–1204) *Korai fūtei shō* 古来風躰抄 can even claim a well-developed periodization and sense of history. One thing conspicuously absent from most early poetics, however, is the question of how a verse should *sound*. Although the fixed syllabic prosody did produce a sort of rhythm, “alliteration, consonance, and assonance [which] are found in the earliest Japanese songs and were used by poets of all periods ... never became obligatory in any poetic form, nor were any rules ever formulated governing their use.”<sup>2</sup> Neither did

pitch stress, one of the salient features of Japanese phonetics, ever play a role in traditional schemes of versification. This relative disregard becomes all the more conspicuous when one considers that twenty-four centuries ago, Aristotle had already articulated a fairly complex prosody, and that in fifth-century China such theoreticians as Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513) had established rules for the rhyme schemes, tone patterns, and caesurae of what came to known as “regulated verse” (*lǜshi* 律詩).

In terms of practice, certainly no previous age was richer in auditory imagery than the early modern period, and this has been noted by many careful readers and commentators.<sup>3</sup> In spite of the proliferation of such imagery and techniques, attempts to codify them or even to describe the phenomenon on any level were a relatively late development and, it could be argued, one that remained incomplete. When concern with sound finally did enter poetics in the early modern period, it did so with imprecise taxonomies, using terms and concepts that often conflated rhythm of sound and rhythm of sense, responses corresponding roughly to what Roland Barthes described as “hearing [as] a physiological phenomenon” contrasted with “listening [as] a psychological act.”<sup>4</sup> The frequently resulting ambiguity complicates attempts at analysis.

One such imprecise taxonomy, used by poets and theorists in a wide spectrum of schools, is *shirabe* (tone, tuning), a word originally employed to describe musical effects and therefore indisputably laden with auditory associations. Various theories of *shirabe* proliferated beginning in the latter part of the eighteenth century, most addressing waka in general or tanka in particular. In the second year of Meiwa (1765), the nativist Kamo

<sup>1</sup> From Lessing's 1769 letter to the writer and Enlightenment leader Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811), in Lessing's *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 2 (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1959), 1103. I have followed David E. Wellbery's translation in his *Lessing's Laocoon: Semiotics and Aesthetics in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 226.

<sup>2</sup> Robert H. Brower, “Japanese,” in *Versification, Major Language Types: Sixteen Essays*, ed. W. K. Wimsatt (New York: Modern Language Association, New York University Press, 1972), 44.

<sup>3</sup> Sound imagery in early modern haikai is treated in Horikiri Minoru, *Bashō no saundosukēpu: haikai hyōgenshi e mukete* (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1998), especially 7–104. See also Suzuki Ken'ichi, *Edo shiikashi no kōsō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2004), 161–175.

<sup>4</sup> Roland Barthes, *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1985), p. 245.

no Mabuchi 加茂真淵 (1697–1769) authored a concise introduction to the art of waka entitled *Niimanabi* にひまなび, which opens with: “In ancient poems, tuning (*shirabe*) was the main concern, because [the verses] were sung.”<sup>5</sup> In his critique of Mabuchi, the non-nativist Kagawa Kageki 香川景樹 (1768–1843) took the concept of *shirabe* in a more abstract direction when he wrote that “poetry that arises from ... sincerity of feeling is an expression of the tuning (*shirabe*) of the universe and ... the objects of such poetry cannot fail to resonate in response.”<sup>6</sup> Mabuchi’s pronouncement marks a new direction in kokugaku thought: a quest to recover lost, primeval sounds and harmonies. On the other hand, for those in Kageki’s school, the Keien-ha 桂園派, *shirabe* straddled the entire spectrum between sound and sense, and was not something that had ever been lost.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to *shirabe*, one of the most important terms describing the accord between sense and sound is *kaku* 格, a word borrowed from Chinese poetics where it refers to established “types” or “poetic frameworks.”<sup>8</sup> *Kaku* had been impor-

tant in kanshi poetics in Japan as well, having appeared as early as Kūkai’s *Bunkyō hifuron* 文鏡秘府論 (820), but although other concepts from Chinese theory were adapted to teachings on native poetry, *kaku* did not appear in waka poetics until the latter part of the Tokugawa period, where it is especially common in nativist treatments of *chōka*.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the “types” and categories described in *chōka* poetics are often evaluated in terms of the resulting harmony of sense and sound. The link between *kaku* and auditory effects is particularly evident when writers describe the *kakuchō* 格調, or “tone,” of a verse; it is here that *kaku*, though a term of ancient Chinese provenance, assumed some of the semantic burden of *shirabe*. Relatively more important in *chōka* poetics than *shirabe*, *kaku* will be described throughout this study.

As Susan Blakely Klein has ably demonstrated, belief in “the essential underlying unity of language and reality” remained very much alive in certain quarters throughout the medieval period.<sup>10</sup> Such ideas, however, became pronounced in poetics only in the early modern period. In general, an emerging preoccupation with auditory effects was manifest in sundry theories and among various schools, and was arguably one aspect of a growing general consciousness of the presumably unique qualities of the native language. Over the course of the eighteenth century, a reciprocal—one would be tempted to say “symbiotic”—relationship grew between poetics and the emerging study of historical linguistics; there were few works on etymology—or even on grammar and syntax—that were not somehow related to poetry and poetics, and as the present study illustrates, the connection was by no means unilateral. Significantly, this marriage of

<sup>5</sup> From *Niimanabi*, in *Nihon kagaku taikei* (hereafter NKT), ed. Sasaki Nobutsuna, vol. 7 (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1957), 218.

<sup>6</sup> From *Niimanabi iken*, in NKT8:216.

<sup>7</sup> Some of Kageki’s pronouncements on the acoustic qualities of the Japanese language sound very much like the nativists he denounces. For example, in his *Kokin wakashū seigi sōron* 古今和歌集正義総論 (NKT 8:226), he links the sounds of Japanese to the supposed purity of the native character, which in turn arises from the land itself:

In the various foreign countries, their vocal sounds are turbid and impure because they are born of natures that are turbid and illicit. Their natures are turbid and illicit because they are born of water and soil that are turbid and unclean.

For a general treatment of Kageki’s use of *shirabe*, see Roger K. Thomas, *The Way of Shikishima: Waka Theory and Practice in Early Modern Japan* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2008), 114–117.

<sup>8</sup> John Timothy Wixted renders the term thus in his translation of Yoshikawa Kōjirō, *Five*

*Hundred Years of Chinese Poetry, 1150–1650: The Chin, Yuan, and Ming Dynasties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 70, 113.

<sup>9</sup> Hisamatsu Sen’ichi, “Kakaku gaisetsu,” in *Tanka kōza*, ed. Yamamoto Mitsuo, vol. 9 (Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1932), p. 50.

<sup>10</sup> Susan Blakely Klein, *Allegories of Desire: Esoteric Literary Commentaries of Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002), 18–19.

poetics and linguistics was consecrated for the most part by nativists; the fascination with the supposedly unique acoustic characteristics of the Japanese language was part of their broader quest to rediscover a verbal realm whose purity and freedom from foreign taint was worthy of the “lofty and upright heart (*takaku naoki kokoro*)” that was thought to characterize the people of ancient Japan.<sup>11</sup>

### I. The Quest for *Kotodama*

H.D. Harootunian has described what he calls “the sovereignty of sound” in nativist thought of the early modern period, citing numerous examples both of the pride of place accorded by prominent kokugakusha to the acoustic qualities of the Japanese language, and of their denigration of the written word as having distorted the purity of the Yamato tongue.<sup>12</sup> But what gave rise to this “sovereignty of sound”? This study will suggest some different avenues in addition to those proposed by Harootunian.

It may strike one as odd that a founding figure of the nativist movement—an intellectual current that eschewed foreign systems of thought—should be the Shingon priest, Keichū 契沖 (1640–1701). But it is perhaps not so strange after when one considers that his sect bore Kūkai’s 空海 (774–835) legacy of mantras, dharanis, “seed” syllables, and ideas roughly corresponding to modern notions of “sound symbolism,” or phonosemantics.<sup>13</sup> Keichū’s contributions to recovering lost meanings in the *Man’yōshū* were accompanied by a drive to reconstruct the sounds of the ancient language. The publication in 1695 of his *Waji shōran*

*shō* 和字正濫鈔, in which he demonstrates the incompatibility of contemporaneous theories of *kana* with the phonetic conventions of Nara-period writing, sparked scholarly interest in the sounds of early Japanese. As Kuginuki Tōru has cogently argued, it was with Keichū’s work that the study of *kana* moved beyond the prescriptive approach that had prevailed since Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162–1241), introducing not only a systematic methodology of historical inquiry but also reasoned speculation about how the ancient phonemes might actually have sounded.<sup>14</sup> In this same work, Keichū also speaks of *kotodama* 言霊, or “word spirit,” defining it as “a miraculous virtue (*reigen* 靈驗) that follows blessing or cursing according to will.”<sup>15</sup>

The figure shows a page from the *Waji shōran shō*, a historical Japanese text. It contains a grid of characters, likely representing a phonetic or orthographic system. The characters are arranged in rows and columns, with some characters appearing in multiple positions. The text is written in a traditional Japanese style, with some characters in kuzushiji (old cursive) and others in more standard forms. The grid is organized into sections, with some characters grouped together. The overall layout is typical of a historical Japanese dictionary or grammar book.

Figure 1. From *Waji shōran shō*.<sup>16</sup>

It was over the century following Keichū’s death—a century during which, according to Naoki Sakai, “a typically phonocentric view of language developed”<sup>17</sup>—that attempts to recon-

<sup>11</sup> This characterization of the ancient Japanese is seen in Kamo no Mabuchi, *Niimanabi*, in NKT 7:219.

<sup>12</sup> See H.D. Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 50–56.

<sup>13</sup> For a treatment of sound symbolism and early Japanese phonology see Ann Wehmeyer, “The Interface of Two Cultural Constructs: *Kotodama* and *Fūdo*,” in *Japanese Identity: Cultural Analyses*, ed. Peter Nosco (Denver: Center for Japan Studies at Teikyo Loretto Heights University, 1997), 94–106.

<sup>14</sup> See Kuginuki Tōru, *Kinsei kanazukairon no kenkyū: gojūonzu to kodai Nihongo onsei no hakken* (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 2007), especially 47–63.

<sup>15</sup> Cited in Toyoda Kunio, *Nihonjin no kotodama shisō* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1980), 185.

<sup>16</sup> Reproduced in Kuginuki, 55.

<sup>17</sup> Naoki Sakai, *Voices of the Past: The States of Language in Eighteenth-Century Japanese Discourse* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 240.

struct the sounds of the ancient tongue were carried out in earnest. Analysis of the sounds of early Japanese reached a methodological high point in Motoori Norinaga's 本居宣長 (1730–1801) *Kotoba no tama no o* 詞の玉緒 (1785), *Kanji san'on kō* 漢字三音考 (1785), and *Mojigoe no kanazukai* 字音仮字用格 (1776), in which he attempts to characterize the auditory qualities of the Japanese *Ursprache*. In the second of these, he argues that attempts to imitate the sounds of continental speech when Chinese ideographs were introduced had distorted the original phonemes.<sup>18</sup> His argument in the third of these works that the “*ya*” and “*wa*” lines each anciently included five distinct sounds drew much commentary and criticism.<sup>19</sup> Norinaga's preoccupation with the sounds of ancient Japanese is also evident in his famous argument with Ueda Akinari 上田秋成 (1758–1813) as recorded in *Kakaika* 呵刈葭 (1786), where Norinaga insists that the syllabic “*n*” (ん) and voiceless labials (*handakuon* 半濁音) not only were non-existent in the archaic tongue, but that their presence in the modern language bespeaks degeneration rather than mere change.<sup>20</sup> The worldview of an idealized remote past and its subsequent degradation echoed through much of the research on historical phonology of the early modern period.

<sup>18</sup> See Harootunian's treatment of this source, 56–62.

<sup>19</sup> See his *Mojigoe no kanazukai*, in *Motoori Norinaga zenshū*, ed. Ōno Susumu, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1970), 329.

<sup>20</sup> This exchange is discussed in Kawamura Minato, *Kotodama to takai* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2002), pp. 7–13. Kuginuki (pp. 157–174) maintains, however, that in spite of the fame of the *Kakaika* controversy, in terms of its intellectual content it pales in comparison to the debates spawned by one of the chapters of Norinaga's *Mojigoe no kanazukai*.



Figure 2. Norinaga, self-portrait<sup>21</sup>

Not unlike other areas of investigation, after Norinaga's generation studies of ancient phonetics tended away from empiricism and toward a quasi-mystical and essentialist cultural nationalism, including an ever-increasing confluence of phonology and cosmology. As an outgrowth of their exegetical tradition of the *Man'yōshū*, nativists came to be fascinated with the belief that purportedly obtained among the ancient Japanese that sincere poetic utterance possessed an incantatory or mantric quality that could affect physical reality, that poetic benedictions or maledictions could bring things to pass. Scores of treatises appeared drawing on *kotodama* and related concepts. Toyoda Kunio notes that in the half century following Bunsei 1 (1818), no fewer than fifty titles beginning with the word *kotodama* appear in *Kokusho sōmoku* 国書総目録, a number which of course does not include countless other works treating the ancient belief in word spirit.<sup>22</sup>

An exhaustive analysis of these is impossible here, but a few are worthy of special mention. Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤 (1776–1843), in his *Koshi honjikyō* 古史本辞経 (1839), argues that

<sup>21</sup> The original is in the Norinaga Kinenkan [www.norinagakinenkan.com/norinaga.html](http://www.norinagakinenkan.com/norinaga.html).

<sup>22</sup> Toyoda Kunio, p. 182.

“since [Japan] is the original parent country (*oyaguni* 祖国) of all others, it is only natural that all things [here] ... should be superior,” and that it is a land blessed by *kotodama*. He continues by maintaining that “since the oracles of the parent deities who reside in the High Plain of Heaven have been handed down [there] for countless ages, it is likewise a land where the Way of speech and language (*koe-hibiki-koto no michi* 音韻言語の道) is correct, propitious, complete (*tarai-totonoeru* 足ひ調へる), and superior to that of every other land.” Atsutane laments the pollutions that have crept into the native language as a result of foreign influence. The beauty of the ancient tongue was its simplicity; there were “only the fifty unvoiced sounds (清音) and an additional twenty that are voiced. But isn’t it marvelous that with those few sounds we can form the myriad words, with no lack?”<sup>23</sup> Similarly Tachibana Moribe’s 橘守部 (1781–1849) *Gojūon shōsetsu* 五十音小説 (1842) claims that “these fifty syllables were not created by anyone,” but rather “are something spontaneously transmitted from the beginning of the age of the gods,” and “the full range of all things in heaven and earth find voice therein.” Moreover, “the source of that which from antiquity has been called *kotodama* is none other than the fifty syllables.” They are the source not only of pure language, but are the basis of linguistic study in general; while some have linked their conception to the sounds of Sanskrit, “in reality they should be called *kotodama* [itself], and there is no [true] study of language that does not proceed thence.”<sup>24</sup> These works, and many like them, posit mystical origins and properties of the sounds of ancient Japanese.

For modern scholars, both the extent and the precise nature of ancient *kotodama* belief have remained somewhat elusive, and it is often difficult to ascertain the degree to which descriptions

of it in standard histories might in fact owe to later (especially early modern) constructs. Appearances of the word in early sources are surprisingly few; most famously it is mentioned in the lines in Yamano no Okura’s 山上憶良 (660–733?) *chōka* (MYS #898):

...kamiyo yori / iitsute kuraku / soramitsu /  
Yamato no kuni wa / sumekami no / itsushiki  
kuni / kotodama no / sakiwau kuni to...  
...from the age of the gods / it has been told  
and retold / that the sky-vast / land of  
Yamato / is an august land, / its rulers of  
divine descent, / a land blessed / by  
word spirit ...<sup>25</sup>

For Bakumatsu theorists, however, the ubiquity of *kotodama* belief in ancient Japan was taken for granted, its effects claimed to be observable in an ever-broadening array of phenomena.

Its link to euphony is perhaps best illustrated by Kamochi Masazumi 鹿持雅澄 (1791–1858) who, in his *Kotodama no sakiwai* 言霊徳用, articulated a theory of word spirit based on the supposedly unique sounds of ancient Japanese speech.<sup>26</sup> Masazumi defines *kotodama* as “the mysterious spirit (*kushibi naru tamashii* 霊異なる神魂) present of its own accord in human language.”<sup>27</sup> But it is not present in just any human language, as his analysis makes clear, and the most important condition for its presence is based on phonetic qualities.

Significantly, the loss of proper sounds was preceded by the loss of proper sense. Masazumi notes that, although “in the final analysis, there is nothing between heaven and earth excluded from the salutary (*sakiwai-tasukuru*) [force of] *kotodama*,” yet “during the middle [i.e., Heian] period, teachings of the sages of alien lands came to be practiced, and for everything under heaven, reason became the means and rhetoric the end.” People’s

<sup>23</sup> From *Koshi honjikyō*, in *Shinshū Hirata Atsutane zenshū*, ed. Shinshū Hirata Atsutane Zenshū Kankōkai, vol. 7 (Tokyo: Heibunsha, 1977), pp. 416–417, 420.

<sup>24</sup> From *Gojūon shōsetsu*, in *Shintei zōho Tachibana Moribe zenshū* [hereafter TMZ], ed. Tachibana Jun’ichi and Hisamatsu Sen’ichi, vol. 13 (Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu, 1967), p. 197.

<sup>25</sup> Citations follow the numbering in *Shinpen Kokka taikan*. Two other references to *kotodama* in the *Man’yōshū* include no. 2511 and no. 3268. For an analysis of *kotodama* belief appearing in *Man’yōshū* poetry, see Toyoda Kunio, pp. 76–106.

<sup>26</sup> The title of Masazumi’s work is based on the afore-cited lines from MYS #898.

<sup>27</sup> Kamochi Masazumi, *Kotodama no sakiwai* (Tokyo: Kunaishō, 1893), 1r.

minds were eventually swayed, “and over the years the noble, mysterious, and subtle principle of *kotodama* came to be buried.”<sup>28</sup> However, with the revival of ancient learning, “the *kotodama* that had lain buried for hundreds of years” began to reappear, and especially with the restoration of imperial rule, “the correct and felicitous sounds of human speech, far superior to what is found in other countries,” was also revived.<sup>29</sup>

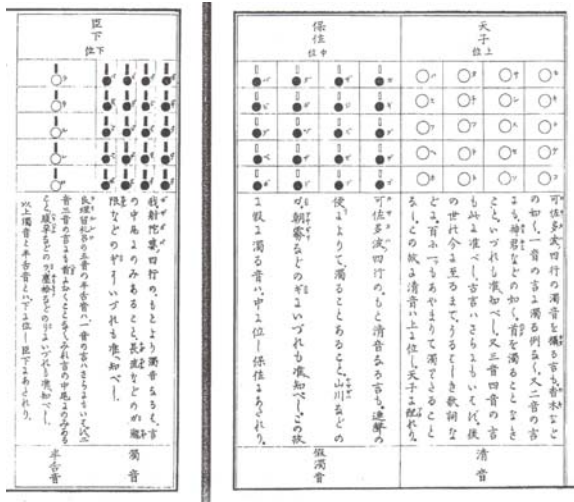


Figure 3. From *Kotodama no sakiwai*.<sup>30</sup>

What exactly was superior about ancient Japanese speech? According to Masazumi, “in the chirping sounds of foreign tongues there are many turbid [i.e. voiced] sounds,” which are “utterly loathsome, like the sounds of birds, insects, or [inanimate] vessels.” Though he recognizes the voiced syllables of the *ka*, *sa*, *ta*, and *ha* lines, yet he maintains that “in the ancient language of our country, few syllables were voiced.” Voicing occurred mainly in the second element of compounds, or sometimes in the second or third syllable of a word (like *nagai*), but never at the beginning, the “voicing of initial syllables [being] a vulgar practice of later ages.”<sup>31</sup> Moreover, he claims that this practice came about through imitation of foreign words. “Since all things are pure (*kiyora*), so should the human voice also be pure,” and this of course refers to unvoiced, or “pure,”

sounds (*seion* 清音).<sup>32</sup> For Masazumi, “the fact that [Japan] is both the center and the head of all nations—that in all things ... it is more propitious and splendid than all other lands—is a subtle manifestation of *kotodama*.”<sup>33</sup> Though the link to poetry is only implied in Masazumi’s treatise, surely there could be no more radical statement of the importance of how language *sounds*. Such theories had their genesis in a nativist fantasy of an antiquity free from foreign influence.

The *Zeitgeist* was also manifest in ideas about recording language. From as early as the invention of *kana* in the ninth century, Japanese had reached a compromise between ideographic and phonetic approaches to writing, and though the former of course prevailed in *kanbun* and the latter in early *monogatari*, as Naoki Sakai points out, “neither purely ideographic nor purely phonetic inscription dominated the production of intellectual, literary, and legal discourse.” Most texts had reconciled the two principles. Only in the early modern period—and especially the eighteenth century—“did the total rejection of ideography and the adoption of ‘pure’ phoneticism arise as a major intellectual concern.”<sup>34</sup> According to many nativists, not only had the foreign ideographs acted as pathogens bearing diseases of intellect, but they had also distorted the ancient sounds and added a layer of obfuscating mediation between the mind of the ancient and contemporary understanding.

## II. “Poetic Frameworks” and Harmonizing of Sound and Sense

The amplified attention to auditory imagery and rhythmic qualities, as well as the phonocentric tendencies marking much nativist writing on lan-

<sup>28</sup> Kamochi, *Kotodama no sakiwai*, 1r.

<sup>29</sup> Kamochi, *Kotodama no sakiwai*, 2r–2v.

<sup>30</sup> Kamochi, *Kotodama no sakiwai*, 12v–13r.

<sup>31</sup> Kamochi, *Kotodama no sakiwai*, 3r–4v.

<sup>32</sup> Kamochi, *Kotodama no sakiwai*, 5r. Significantly, the purity of human speech and its attendant power of *kotodama* is also linked to social class; the degree of voicing in speech is supposedly indicative of how low the status of the individual is, and “in terms of pure sounds (*seion*) of language, the Son of Heaven ranks above all ... the emperor’s peerless, exalted position between heaven and earth is a plain manifestation of the pure and subtle principle of *kotodama*.” (Kamochi, 9r)

<sup>33</sup> Kamochi, *Kotodama no sakiwai*, 9r.

<sup>34</sup> Sakai, p. 252.



guage, are integrated more than anywhere else in the afore-mentioned concept of *kaku*, which came to be closely associated with *chōka* poetics. While never departing entirely from its original meaning of “types” or “poetic frameworks,” in *chōka* poetics the term is extended to description of ancient techniques of rhythm, euphony, and even musicality.

Mabuchi, who more than anyone else added momentum to the fledgling revival of *chōka* composition, also wrote what could be seen as the first attempt at poetics for that genre. In his *Agatai susamigusa* あがたみすさみぐさ (published posthumously in 1796), he critiques several verses of *chōka* using categories that later theorists would also adopt and would call *kaku*.<sup>35</sup> *Chōka* poetics was developed by three major theorists over the first half of the nineteenth century. Their contributions will be examined in turn.

### Oguni Shigetoshi

The first serious attempt to describe poetic frameworks in *chōka* poetics is seen in Oguni Shigetoshi's 小国重年 (1766–1819) *Chōka kotoba no tamaginu* 長歌詞珠衣 (1801). Shigetoshi, originally surnamed Suzuki, was born to a family holding the hereditary headship of the Oguni Shrine in Tōtōmi province 遠江国 (present-day Shizuoka prefecture).<sup>36</sup> Aspiring to deepen his knowledge of kokugaku, in the third year of Tenmei (1783) he began to receive instruction from Uchiyama Matatsu 内山真竜 (1740–1821), and three years later accompanied Matatsu on a journey to Izumo in order to visit sites mentioned in the *Izumo fudoki* 出雲風土記 and ascertain the historical veracity of that record. The trip stimulated Shigetoshi's desire for further study, and he began to examine such texts as *Kojikiden* 古事記

伝 and *Tamakushige* 玉くしげ. Soon thereafter he formally became a disciple of Norinaga, most of whose instruction was conducted through correspondence, although Shigetoshi apparently also made some trips to Matsusaka. In addition, he also corresponded or associated with numerous other important kokugakusha, most notably Hirata Atsutane. In Kansei 5 (1793), at the age of twenty-eight, Shigetoshi inherited the headship of the Oguni Shrine with its stipend of 590 *koku*.

Shigetoshi authored numerous works on kokugaku and Shinto doctrine; however, he is best remembered now for *Chōka kotoba no tamaginu*, which established a methodology followed by subsequent studies in poetic frameworks. Its preface consists of Shigetoshi's own *chōka* expressing its purpose and including a lamentation:

...Kara no kuni yori / kusagusa no /  
fumi chū mono no / watarikite /  
so o yominarai / hito mina no / uketōtomite /  
hatehate wa / sono fumi goto ni /  
tsukigusa no / kokoro utsurite...

... from the land of China were imported  
various things known as books,  
and steeped in their lore, all receive them  
with reverence, in the end fickle  
hearts shifting to them completely ...

Though many have attempted to imitate the ancient style of poetry, they fail to understand the proper frameworks, and the result is confusion. To remedy this, Shigetoshi wrote the treatise “as a guide for learning the [ancient] language” (*koto no ha o / manabu shirube to*) in composing *chōka*.<sup>37</sup> These thoughts are repeated at the beginning of the essay itself, whose very possibility is credited to the foundation laid by Norinaga.<sup>38</sup>

Shigetoshi notes that “in the configuration of sequencing (*tsuzukuru sama*) in *chōka*, there are various patterns (*aya*),” and that even when “people who think [their own compositions] good analyze them somewhat, they are not without errors in

<sup>35</sup> Mabuchi analyzes *chōka* in terms of “sequencing of words” (*kotoba no tsuzuki*) and various types of antithetical couples. See *Agatai susamigusa*, in *Zōho Kamo no Mabuchi zenshū*, ed. Sasaki Nobutsuna, vol. 12 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1932), pp. 257, 279.

<sup>36</sup> This biographical sketch is indebted to Shiozawa Shigeyoshi, *Kokugakusha Oguni Shigetoshi no kenkyū* (Shizuoka: Hagoromo Shuppan, 2001).

<sup>37</sup> From *Chōka kotoba no tamaginu*, in *Nihon kagaku taikēi, bekkā* [hereafter NKTB], vol. 9, ed. Kyūsojin Hitaku (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1992), p. 15.

<sup>38</sup> From *Chōka kotoba no tamaginu*, p. 26. Shiozawa notes (p. 67) that Shigetoshi's work was especially influenced by Norinaga's *Kotoba no tamao* 詞の玉緒 and *Tama arare* 玉あられ.

set frameworks (定格, glossed *sadamari*); thus, “it is for the detailed elucidation of these frameworks that [he] wrote this book.”<sup>39</sup> *Chōka kotoba no tamaginu* categorizes all 344 verses of *chōka* in the *Kojiki*, the *Nihon shoki*, and the *Man'yōshū* according to two criteria: length and the types of antithetical phrases (*tsuiku*) used. For Shigetoshi, the length of a verse is an important factor in determining its optimal frameworks, and he proceeds from a broad categorization: “those consisting of seven to fifteen lines are small *chōka* (*shō-chōka* 小長歌), those ranging from sixteen to fifty lines are medium *chōka* (*chū-chōka* 中長歌), and those consisting of fifty-one or more lines are all determined to be large *chōka* (*dai-chōka* 大長歌), for apart from these three categories it is difficult to demonstrate the merits of verses.”<sup>40</sup> Each consecutive chapter is subdivided according to these three “types.”

The analysis becomes more complex in its treatment of antithetical phrases, which are categorized ranging from single-phrase pairings (*ikku-tsui* 一句対, antithetical or contrasting images paired within one line of verse) to complex arrangements of four or more sequential antitheses, examples of which may be found in Appendix I. While most of Shigetoshi's frameworks appear to be more focused on rhythm of sense than of sound, others are specifically auditory. One is the use of reduplicated words and phrases (*kasane kotoba* 重ね詞), such as are seen in MYS #199 (*tsuyujimo no kenaba kenu beku* “like dew or frost, resigned to die if they must” ... *samoraedo samoraikanete* “though they would serve him, yet are they unable” ... *Kudara no hara ni [yu] kami-hafuri hafurimashite asa-mo-yoshi Kinoe no miya o toko miya to* “in [from] the plains of Kudara he is entered as a god, his everlasting shrine at Kinoe palace, famed for hempen garments”).<sup>41</sup>

It is worthy of note that Shigetoshi's first teacher of kokugaku, Matatsu, authored a work titled *Kojiki yōka chū* 古事記謡歌註 (1813) which also addresses poetry in terms of frameworks. Most of Matatsu's work consists of annotation of words in *chōka* appearing in the *Kojiki*, but

he implies an essential difference between *tanka* and *chōka* (ancient examples of which he regards as songs) when he writes of the verse

*Mitsumitsushi / Kume no kora ga / kakimotov  
ni ueshi hajikami / kuchi hibiku / ware  
wa wasureji uchiteshi yamamu*  
O august / men of Kume— / like the ginger  
planted by the fence, / piquant in one's  
mouth, / I shall never forget [the enemy's  
insults]—shall we not attack them?

that “it is the inclusion of these [first] two lines that makes this a song; the remaining five lines are a *tanka*.”<sup>42</sup> The implication is that the introductory lines add not only to the sense, but supply euphony and rhythm enough to turn a mere line of verse into song. Elsewhere, Matatsu points out lines that form antithetical pairs, but does not analyze or categorize these. What remains unclear is who influenced whom, since the student's work appeared earlier and is not only far longer, but much more systematic and detailed. In any case, both Matatsu's and Shigetoshi's pioneering work in *chōka* poetics may be seen as an outgrowth of the Agatai school to which both had connections and whose founder played such a key role in the revival of *chōka* composition. There can be no doubt, however, that *Chōka kotoba no tamaginu* was by far the more influential on subsequent studies of poetic frameworks. Its careful methodology drew on the best of the kokugaku tradition, and its emphasis not only on antithetical couplets but on the specific tone or *kakuchō* produced by their various applications would be advanced by later writers, including Tachibana Moribe.

#### Tachibana Moribe

Moribe was the son of one Iida Chōjūrō Motochika 飯田長十郎元親, a village headman in the province of Ise (伊勢国, present-day Mie prefecture). During his lifetime, Moribe at first used the surnames Kitabatake 北畠 and Minamoto 源,

<sup>39</sup> *Chōka kotoba no tamaginu*, p. 26.

<sup>40</sup> *Chōka kotoba no tamaginu*, p. 26.

<sup>41</sup> *Chōka kotoba no tamaginu*, p. 231.

<sup>42</sup> Uchiyama Matatsu, *Kojiki yōka chū*, in *Nihon kayō shūsei*, ed. Takano Tatsuyuki, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō, 1960), p. 195. The verse, appearing in Book Two of the *Kojiki*, was composed to incite the imperial Kume guards to attack the Tsuchigumo, a rebellious indigenous tribe living in present-day Nara prefecture.



since these appear in the Iida pedigree, but finally settled on Tachibana, his mother's maiden name, which traced back to the Nara-period poet and statesman Tachibana no Moroe 橘諸兄 (684–757). Moribe, who was seventeen years old when his father died in Kansei 9 (1797), left that same year for Edo to study kokugaku in accord with his late father's wishes. In Bunka 6 (1809), he settled in Satte 幸手 in the northeast area of present-day Saitama prefecture, where he lived for the next twenty years and where, aside from some tutelage under Shimizu Hamaomi 清水浜臣 (1776–1824), he engaged primarily in independent study and research.<sup>43</sup> It is possible that Moribe's interest in chōka owed in part to Hamaomi, who was an important leader in the revival of that form.



Figure 4. Tachibana Moribe<sup>44</sup>

Owing in large measure to such popularizers as Hirata Atsutane, the early nineteenth century was a time when kokugaku began to find many devotees among the peasantry and laboring classes, and Moribe soon found many students and patrons among the weavers in the Kiryū 桐生 and Ashi-

kaga 足利 areas. Owing to this base of support he was able to return in Bunsei 12 (1829) to Edo, where he established a school. He was critical of many of the major figures in the kokugaku movement, including Norinaga, and remained aloof from other schools and factions. Nevertheless his work—and especially his poetics—often betrays unmistakable indebtedness to the very people he criticizes.

Moribe's views on chōka are developed systematically in his *Chōka senkaku* 長歌撰格, a work composed midway in his career in Bunsei 2 (1819) and apparently circulated among his disciples before finally being printed in Meiji 6 (1873). Like significant works on chōka both before and after, *kaku* is central to his theory. While matters of poetic frameworks had become a concern in waka poetics in general and chōka poetics in particular, he illustrates the auditory effects of native poetry with unprecedented clarity. Words, which he describes as “the sounds of the heart,”<sup>45</sup> are to be valued for sonorousness as well as for sense.

As Hisamatsu Sen'ichi has noted, Moribe advances two major arguments in *Chōka senkaku*.<sup>46</sup> The first of these is the claim that, since ancient poems were sung, they cannot be properly understood apart from the structures (*kaku*) of the music, a claim reflected also in his contributions in research on such song genres as *kagura* 神楽 and *saibara* 催馬楽.<sup>47</sup>

A second claim is the indispensability to waka of special language. Moribe compares common language with strumming an untuned *koto*, while to achieve the *aya* (文 pattern, design) of the lan-

<sup>43</sup> It is difficult to determine exactly what kinds of things Moribe studied under Hamaomi, but the fact that he did seek the latter's instruction is substantiated in the writings of Chisaka Rensai 千坂廉斎 (d. 1864), one of Hamaomi's disciples. See Suzuki Eiichi, *Tachibana no Moribe*, Jinbutsu sōsho 163 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1972), pp. 31–43, 64–68. This biographical sketch is indebted to Suzuki's work and to Tokuda Susumu, *Tachibana Moribe to Nihon bungaku: shin shiryō to sono biron* (Tokyo: Asahi Shōbō, 1975).

<sup>44</sup> Gunma Kenritsu Bunshokan, [www.gtoweb.com/native/person5\\_1.htm](http://www.gtoweb.com/native/person5_1.htm).

<sup>45</sup> *Chōka senkaku* opens with the following lines: “Among all living creatures, there is none so noble as human beings, and there is nothing more noble about humans than their heart (*kokoro*) ... the sound of which is words. Thus, there is nothing in this world more noble than words.” TMZ 11:7; NKTB 9:239.

<sup>46</sup> Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, “Kakaku gaisetsu: kenkyūshi o chūshin to shite,” in *Tanka kōza*, ed. Yamamoto Mitsuo, vol. 9 (Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1932), p. 56.

<sup>47</sup> See Moribe's *Kagurauta iriaya* 神楽歌入文 (1834) and *Saibara-fu iriaya* 催馬楽譜入文 (1841) in TMZ 8:1–200.

guage of waka, one needs to tune the strings and play according to rhythm and melody. This comparison is followed by a statement that could have been written by Norinaga himself, where Moribe argues that “waka poetry (*uta*) is not the same as common language; it should aim to add embellishment (*aya*) to the words and to make the tone graceful (*shirabe no uruwashikaran*).”<sup>48</sup> Thus, in Moribe’s poetics, as in Norinaga’s, *aya* often tends to a meaning close to “embellishment.” As Susan L. Burns has aptly noted, in contrast to Norinaga’s theory of orality, Moribe claimed that such texts as the *Kojiki* were “transformed by the process of transmission as the people of ancient Japan altered and adapted [them] through the use of metaphor, allegory, and rhetorical embellishment.”<sup>49</sup> She further notes that, according to Moribe, “speech in ancient times had a performative aspect that was lacking—that had been lost—in later times.”<sup>50</sup> Applied to poetry, this “rhetorical embellishment” is part of the *aya* which is characteristic of poetic language. Citing the “Jindaiki” from the *Nihon shoki*, Moribe argues that “the gods love the ornamentation [*aya*, which is glossed with the characters *birei* 美麗] of words.” Moreover, “in ancient times when the ornamentation of words (*kotoba no aya*) was valued, to speak of *uta* was primarily to speak of *chōka*.”<sup>51</sup>

Moribe also emphasizes antithetical phrases (*tsuiku*), just as Shigetoshi before him, but with an expanded vision of what these included. Antithesis can, of course, be a matter of form or content. While Shigetoshi limits his treatment for the most part to the former, Moribe addresses both form and content in his analysis.

A strikingly unique aspect of Moribe’s *chōka*

poetics is his linking of *chōka* and music, in particular *gagaku*. While the importance of the sound effects of *chōka* was widely acknowledged, Moribe posited a link with music. In *Chōka senkaku*, he cites examples of poetry that was indisputably sung, namely *saibara* and *kagura*, and maintains that likewise, “ancient *chōka* generally followed the melodies of *gagaku* of the period, and were ‘tuned’ in order to be readily sung (*jiki ni utau beku shirabe nashitsureba*) ...” When *tanka* were used in songs, they had to be adapted by repeating or adding lines, but “the phrase types (*ku-kaku* 句格) of *chōka* were directly [related to] the tunes of *gagaku*.”<sup>52</sup> As proof of this, he argues that “all of the ancient waka in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* has been transmitted in song by the Bureau of Music (*gagakuryō* 雅楽寮).”<sup>53</sup>

Moribe entertained the idea of a link between poetry and music well before writing *Chōka senkaku*, as is evident in his 1816 treatise on Shinto, *Shinpū mondō* 神風問答. The question-and-answer format contains much fascinating discussion of waka, including an insistence on its inherent musicality:

In ancient poetry, which was sung, there were necessarily types (*kaku*). If the poem did not accord well with its types, then it could not be called a true poem ... In attempting to be imbued [with the affection of the ancients], one first of all makes the ancient tuning (*shirabe*) his master, and composes according to the types (*kaku*) of a song piece (*utaimono*).<sup>54</sup>

Even the distinction between *chōka* and *tanka* was drawn in terms of musicality: “*Tanka* is merely something that expresses purport (*tada ishi o noburu made no mono*), and when it is sung, a tuning (*shirabe*) is added separately.” As an illustration of this, Moribe compares the following anonymous verse from the *Man’yōshū*

*Ide aga koma / hayaku yuki koso / Matsuchi-yama / masureamu imo o / yukite haya mimu*  
Giddyap, my steed, / hurry, and take me there:  
/ Mount Matsuchi— / I wish to hurry and see /  
my love, who must be waiting. (MYS #3168)

<sup>48</sup> *Chōka senkaku*, in TMZ 11:7–8; NKTB 9:239–240.

<sup>49</sup> Susan L. Burns, *Before the Nation: Kokugaku and the Imagining of Community in Early Modern Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 13. Emphasis mine.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>51</sup> TMZ 11:8; NKTB 9:240. For Norinaga’s views on *aya*, see for example his *Ashiwake obune*, where he says: “Waka gives pattern (*aya*) to actual feelings ... it is not entirely without artifice.” NKT 7:280.

<sup>52</sup> TMZ 11:9; NKTB 9:241.

<sup>53</sup> TMZ 11:11; NKTB 9:242.

<sup>54</sup> TMZ 2:401, 402.

with its *saibara* version

*Ide aga koma / hayaku yuki kose / Matsuchi  
yama / aware / Matsuchiyama hare /  
Matsuchiyama / maturamu hito o /  
yukite haya / aware / yukite haya mimu  
Giddyap, my steed, / hurry and take me there:  
/ Mount Matsuchi— / ah! / Mount Matsuchi,  
oh, / Mount Matsuchi— / she who must be  
waiting— / I wish to hurry, / ah! / to hurry  
and see her.*

and concludes: “A thirty-one syllable poem has been turned into fifty-three syllables to accord with the beat.”<sup>55</sup> Chōka differs in that the reduplications—unlike those of *saibara*—are there by design: “In chōka ... there is design (*aya*) in the reduplications, which sound indescribably elegant.” Moreover, “this is a superior aspect of chōka, which is designed to be sung (*utau beku shitatetaru*).”<sup>56</sup> In the example of *saibara*—and of *tanka* used in song generally—the poetry preceded the music, but in ancient chōka, this order was reversed.

Moribe attempts to demonstrate the auditory qualities of ancient chōka through a complex system of scansion. While Shigetoshi and others of his predecessors had placed increasing emphasis on classification and definition of poetic frameworks, their paradigms for analyzing verses of chōka were rudimentary compared to Moribe’s systematic approach. He identifies thirteen types of phrases (*ku*) as characteristic of chōka of the *Man’yōshū*, and assigns to each a peculiar symbol for use in scansion. Moreover, he insists that

“these [thirteen] categories all play a part in what is called ‘pattern’ (*aya*),”<sup>57</sup> of which he identifies four types and likewise assigns a special character used in scansion. Phrases are the means by which *aya* is achieved. Moribe’s scansion symbols, described in detail in Appendix II, are illustrated here in his analysis of lines from MYS #131:

<i>ura nashi to</i> as having no bay	<i>hito koso mirame</i> people may see it as such
≡	㊦ ≡
<i>shio nashi to</i> as having no brine	<i>hito koso mirame</i> people may see it as such
<i>yoshi e ya shi</i> I don’t care	<i>ura wa nakedomo</i> though there be no bay
≡	㊦ ≡
<i>yoshi e ya shi</i> I don’t care	<i>shio wa nakedomo</i> though there be no brine
	㊦
<i>isanatori</i> [toward the]<whale-path>	<i>umibi</i> ㄣ <i>o sashite ...</i> seashore ... <sup>58</sup>

いさなとり 浦なしと 浦なしと  
よしあやし のし ㊦ ㊦  
海へびをさして 浦はなけども 人こそ見らめ  
和豆の ㊦ 荒磯のへ上に

<sup>55</sup>TMZ 11:11–12; NKTB 9:243–4. The *saibara* verse also appears in *Kagurauta*, *saibara*, *Ryōjin hishō*, *Kanginshū*, ed. Usuda Jingorō, Shinma Shin’ichi, *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 25 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1976), p. 123. Matsuchiyama, which is employed as a pivot word (*matsu*, “wait”), is located on the boundary between present-day Nara and Wakayama Prefectures.

<sup>56</sup>TMZ 11:14–5; NKTB 9:246. Far from seeing reduplication as tedious in effect, Moribe emphasized its artistic potential: “... there are always many [verses] that repeat the same thing, changing a few words each time. That sounds especially elegant ... it improves the tone (*shirabe*).” TMZ 11:16; NKTB 9:147–8.

Figure 5. From *Chōka senkaku*.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>57</sup>TMZ 11:19; NKTB 9:250. Here, Moribe uses the character *bun* 文.

<sup>58</sup> From *Chōka senkaku*, in TMZ 11:24; NKTB 9:254.

One is reminded of John Collins Pope's insistence on the musicality of Anglo-Saxon poetry, which is clearly suggested by his use of musical notation for scansion of *Beowulf*,<sup>60</sup> in contrast, the direct connection between Moribe's complex notation and the "musicality"—specifically, the affinity with *gagaku*—which he insists was the essence of ancient *chōka*, is not immediately evident.

### Mutobe Yoshika

The third and final important theorist of poetic frameworks in *chōka* was Mutobe Yoshika 六人部是香 (1798–1863), a kokugakusha best remembered today for his writings on Shinto.<sup>61</sup> Yoshika's claims regarding the inherent qualities of *chōka* and the effects of the ancient frameworks that genre used are far less sweeping than those of Moribe, but his theories do not want for the characteristic "nostalgia" of nativist writing.

Yoshika was the son of one Mutobe Tadaatsu 六人部忠篤 (d. 1807), a priest at the Mukō Shrine 向日神社 in the Otokuni district 乙訓郡 of Yamashiro province 山城国 (south of Kyoto). Upon Tadaatsu's death, his young son was sent to live with Mutobe Tokika 六人部節香 (d. 1845), Tadaatsu's younger brother and a noted poet and scholar of Shinto. Under Tokika's guidance, the boy excelled in study of the Chinese and native classics, and in the sixth year of Bunsei (1823) went to Edo to enter Hirata Atsutane's school, where he won the confidence and respect of his teacher and peers. After his return, he inherited his father's former position at the Mukō Shrine and was recognized as a leading figure in the Kansai

branch of the Hirata school. His fame was such that he was invited to lecture on Shinto to Emperor Kōmei 孝明天皇 (1831–1866; r. 1847–1866). In his later years, he relinquished his shrine duties to his eldest son Yoshifusa 是房 and, under the sobriquet Suzunoya 簫舎, devoted himself to teaching in a private school of his own founding.

The bulk of Yoshika's writing is on Shinto, and includes such noted works as *Ken'yū junkō ron* 顯幽順考論 (1855–57) and *Ubasunasha koden shō* 産須那社古伝抄 (1857). As Miyagi Kimiko cogently argues, Yoshika's kokugaku was populist in nature—what is often referred to as *sōmō no kokugaku* 草莽の国学—and in this respect is indebted to Atsutane's influence.<sup>62</sup> Central to his Shinto theory were two principles governing creation: *ken* 顯, or the bright/revealed/ exoteric, personified in Amaterasu and the imperial line, and *yū* 幽, or the dim/hidden/esoteric, represented by Ōkuninushi 大国主 and the Izumo tradition.<sup>63</sup> Shinto also appears to have been the chief focus of instruction in his school, but he also left a number of collections of his own verse as well as influential works on poetics, and was active as a teacher of waka. His most famous poetry student was the nun Ōtagaki Rengetsu 大田垣蓮月 (1791–1875).<sup>64</sup>

The work for which Yoshika is best known to students of poetry is his *Chōka tamagoto* 長歌玉琴 (1861), one of the most systematic treatments of frameworks in that genre. It begins with a historical overview, defining the golden age of *chōka* as extending from its mythological beginnings—Ōkuninushi's courtship song addressed to Nuna-kawa-hime 沼河比売 and her response, as found

<sup>59</sup> From *Chōka senkaku*, in TMZ 11:24; NKTB 9:254.

<sup>60</sup> John Collins Pope, *The Rhythm of Beowulf: An Interpretation of the Normal and Hypermetric Verse-Forms in Old English Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942.)

<sup>61</sup> According to one theory, Yoshika was born in 1806. This biographical sketch is largely indebted to Sasaki Nobutsuna, "Kagakusha to shite no Mutobe Yoshika," *Sasaki Nobutsuna kagaku chosaku fukkokuken*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Hon no Tomosha, 1994), pp. 320–365, and to Suga Shūji, *Kyō Ōsaka no bunjin: bakumatsu, Meiji* (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 1991), pp. 81–88.

<sup>62</sup> Miyagi Kimiko, *Bakumatsu-ki no shisō to shūzoku* (Tokyo: Perikansha, 2004), pp. 246–266.

<sup>63</sup> See the opening lines to *Ubasunasha koden shō*, in *Kokugaku undō no shisō*, ed. Haga Noboru and Matsumoto Sannosuke, *Nihon shisō taikō* 51 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 1971), p. 224. Similarities to *yin* and *yang* are readily apparent.

<sup>64</sup> Rengetsu became his disciple in 1849 and continued to study under him until his death. Twelve of her letters to Yoshika are found in *Zōho Rengetsu-ni zenshū*, ed. Murakami Sodō (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1980), 2<sup>nd</sup> group, pp. 62–71.

in Book One of the *Kojiki*<sup>65</sup>—and continuing until the middle of the ninth century. Ōkuninushi's and Nunakawa-hime's verses, "though different from the many poems and poets appearing later in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*," nevertheless have the same "tone (*kakuchō*)," and "it was not until the second year of Kashō 嘉祥 (849) that both the tuning of phrases (*kuchō* 句調) and the ancient frameworks (*kokaku* 古格) with their figurative meanings (*tengi* 転義) and assertions (*hanji* 判辞) were finally lost" in *chōka*.<sup>66</sup> These opening lines suggest the overall objective of the work: the definition—and the recovery—of an ancient "tone."

Yoshika's allegiances are manifest where he gives credit for the belated revival of *chōka* to Mabuchi, who "possessed a thorough knowledge of the upright inner mind of the ancients," and whose "tanka and *chōka* compositions—though new in content—follow the ancient frameworks and diction," and who therefore "succeeded for the first time in creating revival poems (*fukko no uta* 復古の歌) that accord with the ancient style."<sup>67</sup> Unfortunately, few of his successors "arrange the couplets or employ figurative meanings (*tengi*) and assertions (*hanji*) to follow the ancient frameworks."<sup>68</sup>

<sup>65</sup> See *Kojiki, Jōdai kayō*, Ed. Ogiwara Asao and Kōnosu Hayao, *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 1 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1973), pp. 101–102; *Kojiki*, trans. Donald L. Philippi (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1968), pp. 104–107.

<sup>66</sup> Citations from *Chōka tamagoto* are from a manuscript held in the National Diet Library. The manuscript is a copy, made in 1884 by Oda Kiyoo 小田清雄 and based on Yoshika's own version, dated the twenty-third day of the tenth month, Bunkyū 1 (1861). The passage cited here is on 4r–4v. The significance of 849 is the composition of a very long *chōka* (at 306 lines longer than any in the *Man'yōshū*) by an unnamed priest at Kōfukuji 興福寺 to commemorate imperial gifts received during that year. It appears in *Shoku Nihon kōki* 続日本後紀. See *Zōho Rikkokushi*, ed. Saeki Ariyoshi, Vol. 7 (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1940), pp. 362–365.

<sup>67</sup> *Chōka tamagoto*, 9r–9v.

<sup>68</sup> *Chōka tamagoto*, 11r.

In matters of diction, Yoshika develops an argument differing markedly from that of many of his spiritual forebears in the kokugaku movement. He insists, for example, that "since no matter how one attempts to imitate the ancient style, a verse composed in the present age will of course be a product of the present age, and the spirit of each verse must be new." It follows that "using only ancient diction in composition is a deviation (*henpeki* 偏僻) which rather detracts from the ancient style. Thus, one should not adhere too fastidiously to old or new diction."<sup>69</sup> That is to say, mixing words of various vintages has little to do with success or failure in achieving the ancient style, which depends for its effectiveness on other things. At this point, Yoshika's arguments call to mind Norinaga, who "composed equally in the ancient style and later style," and who reminded his students that they "may believe that [their] poem is in the ancient style, but it tends to contain expressions and words of the later periods."<sup>70</sup> Indeed, Yoshika makes his familiarity with Norinaga's ideas evident two pages later where he writes that "Master Suzunoya's [i.e., Norinaga's] theories establish a distinction between old and new diction, defining for both tanka and *chōka* those using ancient words as being in the ancient style, while those using later diction are of the new tuning (*shinchō* 新調)." Moreover, Norinaga "observed this distinction in his own compositions, as did Master Fujinokakitsu 藤垣内翁 (i.e., Motoori Ōhira 本居大平 1756–1833)." The second generation of Norinaga's disciples, however, "compose *chōka* which they claim to be in the ancient style, yet none accord with the ancient tuning (*inishie no kakuchō*)."<sup>71</sup>

Yoshika's analysis then turns back to antiquity. He claims that the greatness of the *Man'yōshū* owes to its *chōka* to a much greater extent than to

<sup>69</sup> *Chōka tamagoto*, 12r–13r.

<sup>70</sup> From *Uiyamabumi*, in Motoori Norinaga, *Motoori Norinaga zenshū*, ed. Ōno Susumu, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1968), pp. 57–58. I have followed here the translation of Sey Nishimura, "First Steps into the Mountains: Motoori Norinaga's *Uiyamabumi*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 42 (1987):484.

<sup>71</sup> *Chōka tamagoto*, 13v–14r.

its tanka, and that the brilliance of two of its greatest stars, Hitomaro and Akahito, is displayed “only in their chōka, the tanka of these two being only of average quality.”<sup>72</sup>

Five basic frameworks are defined, and referred to collectively as the “constant frameworks” (*jōkaku* 常格). Each of these five is given names which Yoshika admits are of his own invention and for which he provides no concrete definitions. Their meanings must thus be inferred from his use of them in illustrations. The five are: Introduction (*joji* 序辞), in one place glossed as *hashigaki* where referring to the headnote of a tanka, thus implying a similar function; Proposition (*hokki* 発起), which frames the imagery; Statement of significance (*jutsugi* 述義); Assertion (*hanji* 判辞), though the characters imply “judgment,” the examples suggest something broader, including statement of intention or resolution; Harmonizing conclusion (*kekka* 結諧), the second character implying harmonious resolution. Several examples are given of how these frameworks apply to ancient verse, the most concise being Akahito’s MYS #320 (see Appendix III). Yoshika then notes that Akahito—obviously one of his favorites—rarely departs from this order of frameworks, but Hitomaro and others, “while adhering to these constant frameworks,” often employ variations in ordering and combinations in order to achieve special effects.<sup>73</sup>

In addition to these five frameworks, Yoshika’s poetics also describes principles in the use and arrangement of lines and couplets. Two that appear to be of particular importance to him are recapitulation, or “accord between beginning and end” (*shubi no shōō* 首尾の照応) and rhetorical breaks, or “phrase caesuras” (*danraku* 段落).

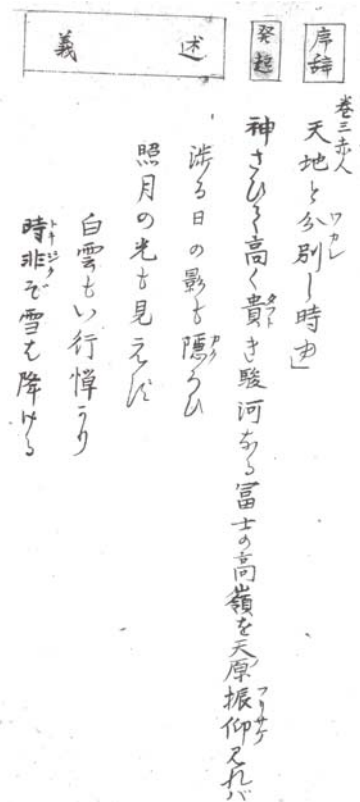


Figure 6. From *Chōka tamagoto*.<sup>74</sup>

Where the beginning and end are in accordance, in some cases “the final line returns to the words used at the beginning, in some verses accord is reached by implying the [same] meaning, while others both begin and end with a couplet.” This principle is illustrated with Emperor Jomei’s 舒明天皇 (593–641; r. 629–641) verse, MYS #2, which begins

<i>Yamato ni wa</i>	Many are the mountains
<i>murayama aredo</i>	of Yamato

and ends

<i>Akitsushima</i>	this dragonfly island,
<i>Yamato no kuni wa</i>	the land of Yamato. <sup>75</sup>

Also, the longer a chōka is, the more rhetorical breaks it needs to employ, and these “breaks are

<sup>72</sup> *Chōka tamagoto*, 18v–19v. Yoshika further claims (36v) that the chōka elegies of the *Man'yōshū* achieve a far greater depth of real feeling than the tanka verses of grief (*aishō no uta*) of the *Kokinshū* and later collections.

<sup>73</sup> *Chōka tamagoto*, 24v–25r.

<sup>74</sup> From *Uiyamabumi*, in Motoori Norinaga, *Motoori Norinaga zenshū*, ed. Ōno Susumu, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1968), pp. 57–58.

<sup>75</sup> *Chōka tamagoto*, 38v.



necessary where [the poem] shifts to figurative meanings.”<sup>76</sup> Hitomaro’s verse, MYS #196, is used to illustrate rhetorical breaks, the first occurring after the lengthy introduction (*joji*):

*Tobu tori no Asuka no kawa no*

The river of bird-ascending Asuka:

*kami-tsu-se ni iwahashi watashi*  
over the upper rapids they have built a  
bridge of stone,  
*shimo-tsu-se ni uchihashi watashi*  
over the lower rapids they have built a  
crude bridge of wood—

*iwahashi ni oinabikeru*

trailing the bridge of stone

☐ *tamamo mo zo tayureba ouru*

glistening seaweed grows back even if  
pulled off

*uchihashi ni oi-ōreru*

covering the crude bridge of wood

☐ *kawamo mo zo karureba oyuru* 』  
the waterweed grows back even if  
wilted<sup>77</sup>

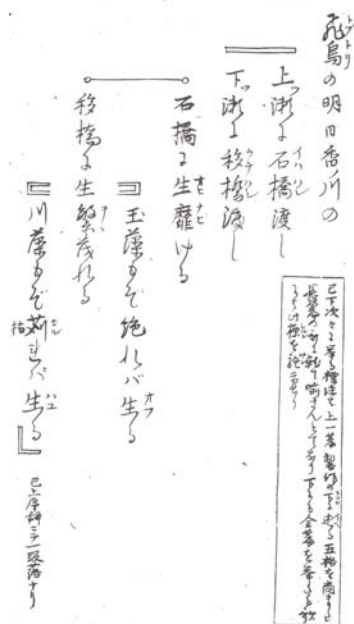


Figure 7. From *Chōka tamagoto*.<sup>78</sup>

in which the symbol 』 is used to indicate a rhetorical break (bars and symbols to the left of lines indicate antithetical pairs). Breaks are illustrated in the same verse following the statement of significance and the assertion.

At the heart of Yoshika’s *chōka* poetics and of his idea of poetic frameworks are antithetical pairs (*tsuiku*), a preoccupation he shares with Shigetoshi, Moribe, and most others in the early modern period who wrote theory for that genre. Indeed, as Hisamatsu Sen’ichi has noted, Yoshika’s analysis of *tsuiku* and other devices used in *chōka* could be seen as creatively drawing on both the quantitative analysis of Shigetoshi and Moribe’s more qualitative, detailed study of the arrangement of phrases.<sup>79</sup> Yoshika notes that “it has been an established principle since the Age of the Gods that by means of antithetical pairs, the meanings in *chōka* may be deepened and the effect [of the poems] made profoundly enchanting (*yūen* 幽艶).”<sup>80</sup> Yoshika’s eight basic categories of antitheses are described and illustrated in Appendix IV.

### III. “Five-Seven” versus “Seven-Five”

An important point upon which these three agree—one which would have important implications for later generations of poets and theorists—is the relative value of the so-called “five-seven mode” (*goshichichō* 五七調) and “seven-five mode” (*shichigochō*), the former referring to phrasing beginning with five-syllable lines while phrases of the latter begin with seven-syllable lines.<sup>81</sup> In the five lines of a verse of *tanka*, for example, conceptual breaks occur after the second and fourth lines in five-seven mode, resulting in five-seven phrases. It is typical of the *Man’yōshū*, and many commentators in the early modern period claim that it is *masuraoburi*, or masculine. Seven-five mode breaks a verse of *tanka* after the

<sup>79</sup> Hisamatsu Sen’ichi, “Kakaku gaisetsu,” p. 79. As Susan L. Burns notes (p. 175) however, Yoshika roundly denounced Moribe and his theories.

<sup>80</sup> *Chōka tamagoto*, 53r.

<sup>81</sup> Though ordinarily a musical term, one of the meanings of “mode” is “rhythmical arrangement.” For the purposes of this study, it is thus an apt translation of *chō*.

<sup>76</sup> *Chōka tamagoto*, 45v.

<sup>77</sup> *Chōka tamagoto*, 46r.

<sup>78</sup> *Chōka tamagoto*, 46r.

first and third lines, yielding seven-five phrases. It is characteristic of the *Kokinshū*, and has been described as *taoyameburi*, or feminine.

Aside from the three treated in detail here, nearly all of the theorists of *kaku* in the early modern period agree that the shift from five-seven to seven-five mode was a sign of degeneracy in waka poetry.<sup>82</sup> Though Shigetoshi does not address this issue in specific terms, his preference is obvious in his examples of *tsuiku*, all of which are of five-seven phrasing. Moribe is more direct in his criticism of the few *chōka* in the *Kokinshū* whose degeneracy is marked by seven-five phrases. For example, in his comments on a *chōka* (KKS #1003) by Mibu no Tadamine 壬生忠岑 (d. 965?), Moribe cites the following lines:

haru wa kasumi ni / tanabikare  
natsu wa utsusemi / nakikurashi  
aki wa shigure ni / sode o kashi  
fuyu wa shimo ni zo / semeraruru  
in spring [my spirits] are drawn thin as the  
mists,  
in summer I spend my days crying like the  
cicada,  
in autumn I lend my sleeves to the passing  
shower,  
and in winter I am assailed by the frost

He argues that while “these sound like couplets (*tsuiku*), yet they place seven syllables ahead of five,” a practice foreign to the ancient age, whose five-seven phrases “were both elegant in tone and powerful (*ikioi ari*).”<sup>83</sup>

Moribe rejects Norinaga’s argument that, since “there are five-syllable lines with either four or six syllables, and seven-syllable lines with either six or eight syllables,” the seven-five mode is really no different from a five-seven verse with extra (*ji-amari*) or lacking (*ji-tarazu*) syllables. Moribe cites examples of archaic verse with short lines, demonstrating that, even in those cases, the shorter line precedes the longer one.<sup>84</sup>

An interesting parallel to Moribe’s views—possibly influenced by the same sources—is seen

in Hoida Tadatomo’s 穂井田忠友 (1792–1847) afterword to Kondō Yoshiki’s 近藤芳樹 (1801–1880) *Kofū santai kō* 古風三体考 (1835). Hoida notes that, though many of his contemporaries derided the seven-five sequencing, he had “yet to hear an explanation of the origin of this practice,” and so he proceeds to offer one of his own. His speculation begins with a reference to the many Chinese who were naturalized in Japan during the Nara period, an important legacy of whom was the music of the Tang dynasty. It proved so popular that “everyone picked up on it, and as time passed and the new capital [i.e., Heian] was built, the noble became very fond of the Chinese style in music,” from their childhood becoming “accustomed to the tuning of Etenraku,” and “easily lured by ... such strange [poetic] modes as:

akagarifumu na / shiri naru ko  
ware mo me wa ari / saki naru ko  
Don’t step on my chapped feet, child behind  
me,

I have eyes too, child before me.”

Thus, as he illustrates with this verse of *kagura* song, it was the introduction of new song styles that led to a change in poetic configurations, that “beginning with the chanted poems and *imayō* of the middle period [i.e., early Heian] ... the seven-five [mode] came to dominate, and so especially when it came to *chōka*, the configuration was lost until there was no vestige of the ancient style.”<sup>85</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Hisamatsu Sen’ichi, *Jōdai Nihon bungaku no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1928), p. 471.

<sup>83</sup> *Chōka senkaku*, in TMZ 11:38–39; NKTB 9:267.

<sup>84</sup> *Chōka senkaku*, in TMZ 11:50–51; NKTB 9:278. Moribe is referring to Norinaga’s *Kojikiden*.

<sup>85</sup> From *Kofū santai kō*, in NKTB 9:512–513. The verse of *kagura* appears in *Kagura, saibara, Ryōjin hishō, Kanginshū*, pp. 83–84. Hoida’s speculation is apparently not beyond the realm of possibility. Eta Harich-Schneider has noted that although “a survey of the development of *kagura* up to the end of the Heian period is an almost impossible undertaking” because “of all musical forms, [it] is the least reliably documented,” yet she points out that “in 782 the department of Tōsangaku [唐散樂] was abolished, and Chinese and other dances of a popular nature were banished from the court programmes. In consequence they sank down to the semi-religious rural *kagura*.” See her *A History of Japanese Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 283. This attests to a pervasive influence of

The most forthright statement on this matter was made by Yoshika. Speaking of the older anonymous verses of the *Kokinshū*, most of which were composed during the ninth century, he notes that “for the most part they adhered to the so-called five-seven mode, and something remains of the ancient effect.” By the time that anthology was compiled, however, “not only had all of the ancient frameworks (*kokaku*) been lost, but the arrangement had shifted to seven-five.” Such a configuration adversely affects “even the pattern (*aya*) of words in *chōka*,” obfuscating “mutual accord (*shōō* 照応) between beginning and end.” In such poems, “things are just recounted in seven-five mode, purporting to be verse but having little to distinguish from prose ... one tires of hearing it, and it grates on the ears.”<sup>86</sup> Throughout his treatise, Yoshika implies that the shift to seven-five accompanied—and even caused—the loss of such important *chōka* features as antithetical pairings, figurative meanings (*tengi*), and assertions (*hanji*).

These views also resonate in the works of Moribe’s and Yoshika’s contemporary, Ban Nobutomo 伴信友 (1773–1846). In his *Kana no motosue* 仮名の本末 (published posthumously in 1850), Nobutomo, accepting the belief that kana were invented by Kūkai who then “arranged [the forty-seven sounds] into the *iroha* hymn (*sanka* 讃歌),” notes that “the phrasing (*kuchō*) of this hymn begins with seven syllables, alternates seven- and five-syllable lines, and ends with five syllables,” which is “precisely the same versification used in Japanese hymns (*wasan* 和讃).”<sup>87</sup> Significantly, the versification of *wasan* was based on that of Sanskrit hymns (*bonsan* 梵讃), which were widely used in Kūkai’s Shingon sect.<sup>88</sup> No-

butomo thus presumes to have established the foreign pedigree of seven-five versification, pointing out that “in ancient times there was not a single verse which, like the *iroha* poem, begins with seven syllables and ends with five,” and argues that even “such rustic verse as *imayō* (今様), which follow the same pattern as the Japanese hymns,” in fact borrowed this pattern indirectly from a foreign model. He concludes that “such versification did not arise naturally in our imperial realm.”<sup>89</sup> Though Nobutomo does not employ the term *kaku*, he is in fact addressing the same thing here, and implying that the loss of ancient frameworks was the result of alien influences.

#### IV. The Legacy of *Chōka* Poetics and Nativist Philology in Meiji Japan

The growing preoccupation both with auditory and rhythmic qualities of contemporary poetry and with the recovery of the putative primal purity of the sounds of archaic Japanese remained distinct pursuits through the first half of the nineteenth century, but their most striking nexus is in the *chōka* poetics of the period. If anything, this connection became more apparent in the years following the Meiji Restoration, for though exposure to the example of Western literature had opened up new possibilities for the development of Japanese poetry, this was accompanied by a heightened nationalistic longing to define what was quintessentially Japanese, and objects of this quest included also the acoustic qualities of the language.

It was the appearance in 1882 of a collection of poems in the “new” (i.e., Westernized) style, *Shintaishi shō* 新体詩抄 (*Selection of Poetry in the New Style*), that led to a reopening of many of the old debates about rhythm, sound, and prosody, with some of the old players and arguments recast in modern garb. Its compilers and contributors—Toyama Masakazu 外山正一 (1848–1900), Yatabe Ryōkichi 矢田部良吉 (1851–1899), and Inoue Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎 (1855–1944)—experimented with various forms, both in their translations of Western verse and in their original compositions, but the seven-five mode predominated and indeed this became the favored scheme for Meiji-period “new style” poetry generally, in-

Chinese melodies, and suggests a possible avenue for their influence on native versification. It is also of interest that the *iroha* poem, also in seven-five mode, dates from the period in question.

<sup>86</sup> *Chōka tamagoto*, 4v–5r.

<sup>87</sup> Ban Nobutomo, *Kana no motosue*, in *Ban Nobutomo zenshū*, ed. Ichijima Kenkichi, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1907), pp. 389, 392.

<sup>88</sup> Nobutomo illustrates (pp. 432–433) the seven-five versification of Sanskrit hymns with the “Four Wisdom Hymn” 四智梵讃 from the *Mahāvairocana Sutra* 大日經.

<sup>89</sup> Ban Nobutomo, pp. 393–394.

cluding such influential collections as Shimazaki Tōson's 島崎藤村 (1872–1943) *Wakana shū* 若菜集 (*New Sprouts*, 1897).

As Ibi Takashi has pointed out, a consciousness of *chōka* as a native precedent appears to have been an important factor motivating the creation of *Shintaishi shō* and even of the devices it employs.<sup>90</sup> Ogino Yoshiyuki's 荻野由之 (1861–1924) commentary in his 1887 essay “Kogoto” 小言 further cemented the conceptual link between the “new style” of poetry and the traditional genre of *chōka*, sparking a debate which was in many respects a recapitulation of literary skirmishes from the earlier half of the century. This was precipitated when Sasaki Hirotuna 佐々木弘綱 (1828–1891), a noted poet and scholar, published an essay in 1888 entitled “*Chōka kairyōron*” (Treatise on the Improvement of *Chōka*). Though Hirotuna does not specifically mention *shintaishi* (“new style poetry”), his consciousness of it is evident as he argues that the history of *chōka*—both its decline in the ninth century and its revival by nativists in the eighteenth—demonstrates the necessity of adaptation, and implies that ancient forms still have this capacity. Importantly for the present discussion, the debate centered largely on “tuning.”

Hirotuna begins by defining “tuning (*shirabe*)” as “the setting in order of the voice [i.e., sounds]”; moreover, “the tuning of the voice changes from country to country,” and even “the aspect of tuning (*shirabe no sama*) shifts with each passing age.”<sup>91</sup> For Hirotuna, successful “setting in order of the voice” appears to depend largely on the ordering of phrases according to

five-seven or seven-five mode, the former having been in common use “until the Nara period” with the latter—which he obviously champions—being in vogue “after Emperor Kanmu [737–806; r. 781–806] moved the capital to Heian [i.e. Kyoto],” and this shift “was only natural because the seven-five mode suited the [sensibilities of the] times.”<sup>92</sup>

Since the shift to seven-five mode had paralleled the decline of *chōka* over the ninth century, its advocacy in an essay purportedly endorsing “improvement” of that ancient genre may seem odd. His dismissal of the revival of *chōka* in the eighteenth century is also at first glance puzzling, because his own poetic lineage at least nominally included Mabuchi, whom he faults for “writing *chōka* imitative of the old style.” Moreover, “just as all dogs start barking when one does, [Mabuchi’s] disciples have turned from seven-five to five-seven mode.”<sup>93</sup> Also confusing is the fact that Hirotuna proposes *imayō* 今様—a Heian-period song form consisting of four lines in seven-five mode that had likewise enjoyed a revival in the early modern period—as the ideal for a new style of poetry, claiming that it “produces a most elegant tone and deep feeling.”<sup>94</sup> Hirotuna’s ideas are vigorously though not always intelligently countered by Unagami Tanehira 海上胤平 (1829–1916), a nativist who was best known for his skill with the sword but who had also studied poetry under Kanō Morohira 加納諸平 (1806–1857). Tanehira, demonstrating a fundamental misunderstanding both of the history of *chōka* and of Hirotuna’s arguments, maintains that “the five-seven mode has remained unchanged from past to present, and should be understood as the correct framework (*seikaku* 正格).”<sup>95</sup> Moreover, in an argument redolent of Mabuchi’s notions of *masurao-buri* and *taoyame-buri*, Tanehira claims that “five-seven is a bright (*yang* 陽) mode, while seven-five is a dark (*yin* 陰) mode. Five-seven is strong, while seven-five is weak.”<sup>96</sup>

The extent to which this anachronistic squabble had its roots in a previous era becomes obvi-

<sup>90</sup> Ibi Takashi, “Kaigyōron: kinsei *chōka* to Meiji *shintaishi no hazama*,” *Bungaku* 3:2 (March/April 2002), p. 108. Ibi notes that it is no coincidence that Ōkuma Bengyoku’s 大熊弁玉 (1818–1880) collection of *chōka*, *Yuramuro shū* 由良牟呂集, had appeared only three years prior to *Shintaishi shō*. Bengyoku’s *chōka* were among the first to incorporate modern materials into that ancient form.

<sup>91</sup> Unagami Tanehira, *Chōka kairyōron benbaku* (Tokyo: Gendōsha, 1889), p. 3. Tanehira quotes Hirotuna’s essay line-by-line, adding rebuttal and commentary.

<sup>92</sup> Unagami, *Chōka kairyōron benbaku*, pp. 14, 18.

<sup>93</sup> Unagami, *Chōka kairyōron benbaku*, p. 20.

<sup>94</sup> Unagami, *Chōka kairyōron benbaku*, p. 48.

<sup>95</sup> Unagami, *Chōka kairyōron benbaku*, p. 19.

<sup>96</sup> Unagami, *Chōka kairyōron benbaku*, p. 48.

ous upon examining the lineage of the respective ideas of its participants. Hirotsuna had studied poetry under Inoue Fumio 井上文雄 (1800–1871), an acknowledged leader in the Edo School of waka, one of whose founders and guiding lights had been Murata Harumi 村田春海 (1746–1811). Though not now usually numbered as a pioneer in the chōka revival, Harumi did advocate a return to that form, maintaining that over the many centuries “the unusual devices and interesting phrases” of tanka “have all been used up,” leaving it “difficult to say anything new ... Only in chōka is one able to turn a phrase that is unusual or novel, and produce work that is not inferior to that of the ancients.”<sup>97</sup>

Now such a pronouncement from most nativists would be a mere commonplace, but Harumi was an arch-heretic as far as that movement was concerned, with his slighting of the *Man'yōshū* and his assertion that “in both China and Japan, poetry is exactly the same thing.”<sup>98</sup> More important is his contention that “people of the present age should focus their studies on the *Kokinshū*,”<sup>99</sup> an anthology that received only very qualified endorsement from nativists, that was frequently denounced by them as too “feminine,” and—most importantly for the present discussion—that marked a transition from five-seven to seven-five mode, especially in the composition of chōka.

Hirotsuna's arguments pick up these two threads in his literary forebear's thinking and resurrect them as a basis for a “new style” of modern poetry. Tanehira's views likewise look backward. His own training was under Morohira, whose father Natsume Mikamaro 夏目甕麿 (1773–1822), though a protégé of Norinaga, was an avid scholar of the *Man'yōshū* and a passionate advocate of its style. The content of Hirotsuna's and Tanehira's debate is thus what we might expect if Harumi and Mikamaro had confronted one another on the

same issues.

The *Chōka kairyōron* debate could be dismissed as an aberrant and anachronistic afterclap of early modern controversies were it not for evidence that these ideas maintained partisan followings for decades afterward. Ibi Takashi has described several works from late Meiji through early Shōwa that give evidence of a link between theories of “new style” poetry and chōka poetics, particularly in matters of phrasing (改行論).<sup>100</sup> One striking example of the currency well into the twentieth century of nativist ideology as manifest in chōka poetics is seen in the publication in 1931 of Murayama Morio's 村山守雄 (1818–1890) *Kamukaze no Ise no umi* 神風之伊勢の海, a work originally authored in 1880. Murayama, who had served as a nativist scholar in the Tamaru 田丸 *han* of Ise Province prior to the Restoration, analyzed every chōka in the *Kojiki* and *Man'yōshū* according to eight categories of *kaku* obviously inspired by those of Moribe, even using scansion symbols. His son, president of the Osaka Asahi Newspaper Company, Murayama Ryōhei 村山龍平 (1850–1933), published his father's work including two collections—*Roen chōkashū* 露園長歌集 and *Meiji chōkashū* 明治長歌集—to which the elder Murayama's scansion symbols are dutifully applied. Nor is this merely a quaint revival of nineteenth-century concepts of prosody; it links poetics and Shinto cosmology, opening with the pronouncement that “the way of waka is the way of Emperor Jinmu,” thus identifying the art with Japan's legendary first emperor who was supposed to have reigned some 2,500 years ago. Murayama posits the origin of the Way of Waka in the verse Jinmu composed as he proceeded along the Inland Sea from Kyushu to conquer the land of Yamato:

*Kamukaze no / Ise no umi no / oishi ni /  
haimotōrou / shitadami no /  
ihaimotōri / uchiteshi yamamu*  
Over the sea of Ise / where divine winds  
blow— / like snails / that crawl /  
on great boulders, / shall we not creep about  
the enemy / and then strike them?<sup>101</sup>

<sup>97</sup> From *Utagatari*, in NKT 8:164.

<sup>98</sup> For Harumi's views on the *Man'yōshū*, see *Utagatari*, in NKT 8:153–54. The quote on Chinese and Japanese poetry is found in *Nishigorinoya zuihitsu*, in *Nihon zuihitsu taisei: dai ikki* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1975–1976), 5:327.

<sup>99</sup> From *Utagatari*, in NKT 8:154.

<sup>100</sup> Ibi Takashi, “Kaigyōron,” pp. 112–119.

<sup>101</sup> Murayama Morio, *Kadō hongi Kamukaze no Ise no umi* (Hyōgo-ken Mikage-chō: Murayama

Murayama, who elsewhere claims that “the fundamental principles of the Way of Waka are to be found in *chōka* rather than in *tanka*,”<sup>102</sup> not surprisingly sees the fountainhead of the art in a verse of the former rather than in Susano-o’s “Yakumo tatsu ...” verse of *tanka*, which is conventionally given that honor. Like Moribe before him, Murayama also sees *waka* as “the basis from which music sprang,”<sup>103</sup> and his scansion and analysis of early *chōka* proceeds from that assumption.

It is nothing less than remarkable that attempts to revive *chōka* as a native verse form worthy of the modern world continually found themselves either bogged down in outdated contentions or unable to strip the art of the mantle of divinity and the elusive quest for *kotodama*, though there was no longer much consensus about what constituted that quality. While *chōka* poets continued to pursue vague essentialisms, “new style” poets increasingly ignored them and went their own way. The fortunes of *chōka* were thus unable to exceed those of nativist thought generally.

### Conclusion

Though poets of all ages had demonstrated an awareness of auditory effects, theoretical interest in them was a relative latecomer in Japan. When it finally made its appearance in poetics in the early modern period, it tended to assume an ancillary role to specific genres and to certain intellectual currents and schools.

Of particular importance for the present study, the most systematic theories of prosody were articulated for *chōka*. While various and often vague ideas about *shirabe* were set forth for *waka* generally, the greater rhythmic possibilities inherent in *chōka* made it a more suitable object for the study of “frameworks.” The association of that genre with Japan’s most remote antiquity no doubt also made it ideologically attractive to some of the best minds of the period, which happened also to be engaged with emerging theories of historical lin-

guistics and speculation about the phonetic qualities of the ancient language. To this mixture were added such essentialistic notions as theories of *kotodama*. That the enterprise of *chōka* poetics became so inextricably tied to nativism and its accompanying intellectual baggage ultimately affected the fate of that genre, including later attempts to make it a model for Meiji poetry, for its nascent theory and prosody did not develop independently of those ideological foundations and thus did not survive them.

What social and cultural factors in early modern Japan might have contributed to the growth of the phonocentrism that was the matrix of these developments? Perhaps an awareness of the sounds of other languages, occasioned by such developments as the rise of Dutch studies (*rangaku* 蘭学) and the interest in vernacular Chinese seen as early as Ogyū Sorai’s 荻生徂徠 (1666–1728) school, was one element that spurred such a concern among intellectuals and writers. The intellectual currents at play are many and varied, and the *chōka* revival and its attendant poetics together arguably form an important nexus among them. It is an area that begs further thought and study.

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Ryōhei, 1931), p. 3. Jinmu’s verse appears in Book Two, Chapter Fifty-two, of the *Kojiki*.

<sup>102</sup> Murayama, *Kadō hongī Kamukaze no Ise no umi*, p. 16.

<sup>103</sup> Murayama Morio, *Kadō hongī Kamukaze no Ise no umi*, p. 16.



## Appendix I

Categories of phrases described in *Chōka kotoba no tamaginu* (NKTB IX:27). Shigetoshi provides illustration rather than definition.

1. Single-phrase pairs (*ikku-tsui* 一句対).

<i>Okisoyama</i>	<i>Mino no yama</i>	
Mount Okiso, [of]	the mountains of Minu [i.e., Mino]	(MYS #3256)

2. Double-phrase pairing (*niku-tsui* 二句対)

<i>kunibara wa</i>	<i>keburi tachitatsu</i>	
over the expanse of land	smoke rises and rises,	
<i>unabara wa</i>	<i>kamome tachitatsu</i>	
over the expanse of water	gulls rise and rise	(MYS #2)

3. Four-phrase linked pairing (*yonku rentsui* 四句連対).

<i>toki naku zo</i>	<i>yuki wa furikeru</i>	
with no measure of time	the snow was falling,	
<i>hima naku zo</i>	<i>ame wa furikeru</i>	
without pause	the rain was falling,	
<i>sono yuki no</i>	<i>tokenaki ga goto</i>	
like the snow	with no measure of time,	
<i>sono ame no</i>	<i>hima naki ga goto</i>	
and like the rain	without pause	(MYS #25)

4. Six-phrase linked pairing (*rokku rentsui* 六句連対).

<i>sakashime o</i>	<i>ari to kikashite</i>	
hearing that there was	a wise woman,	
<i>kuwashime o</i>	<i>ari to kikashite</i>	
hearing that there was	a fair woman,	
<i>sa-yobai ni</i>	<i>aritatashi</i>	
he set out	to court her	
<i>yobai ni</i>	<i>ari-kayowase</i>	
he made the trip	to woo her—	
<i>tachi ga o mo</i>	<i>imada tokazute</i>	
not yet untying	the cord of his sword	
<i>osui o mo</i>	<i>imada tokazute</i>	
not yet loosening	his mantle	( <i>Kojiki</i> 25:10-20)

5. Four-phrase extended pairing (*yonku chōtsui* 四句長対).

<i>obana chiru</i>	<i>Shizuku no tai ni</i>	
in the fields at Shizuku	where pampas blossoms scatter,	
<i>karigane mo</i>	<i>samuku ki-nakinu</i>	
geese, too,	come with their chill cries—	
<i>Niibari no</i>	<i>Toba no ōmi mo</i>	
and on Lake Toba	in Niibari,	
<i>akikaze ni</i>	<i>shiranami tachinu</i>	
white-crested waves form	in the autumn wind.	(MYS #1761)

6. Triple parallel pairing (*sanpeitsui* 三並対).



<i>hotsue wa</i>	<i>ame o oeri</i>	
its upper branches	cover the heavens,	
<i>nakatsue wa</i>	<i>azuma o oeri</i>	
its middle branches	cover the eastern lands,	
<i>shizue wa</i>	<i>hina o oeri</i>	
its lower branches	cover the rural areas	( <i>Kojiki</i> 133:35-40)




## Appendix II











Scansion Symbols Used in *Chōka senkaku*

## Types of Phrases

Moribe describes thirteen types of phrases (*ku*) whose applications are unique to *chōka*. (TMZ XI:16-19; NKTB IX:247-249)

1. Refrain  (*jōku* 畳句). A general term for reduplicated phrases. “The reduplication of the same words for tuning (*shirabe*) is called a refrain.” “Changing the words slightly [with each repetition] ... sounds especially elegant.”
  
2. Connected refrain  (*renjō* 聯畳). A type of refrain that marks the end of a section. “... use of a refrain to mark the end of a section (*shōdan* 章段), and does not merely refer to there being many refrains.”
 

<i>asa haburu</i> morning-blowing  <i>yū haburu</i> on evening-surging	<i>kaze koso yoseme</i> winds push [the seaweed shore]  <i>nami koso kiyore</i> waves [it] approaches (MYS #131)
---	---
  
3. Alternating refrain  (*kakujō* 隔畳). “... refers to reduplication in alternating lines.”
 

<i>tsuyu koso wa</i> the dew 	<i>ashita ni okite</i> falls in the morning 	<i>kiyu to ie</i> is said to vanish 
 <i>kiri koso wa</i> the mists	 <i>yūbe ni tachite</i> rise in the evening 	 <i>usu to ie</i> are said to clear (MYS #217)
	 <i>ashita ni wa</i> [and] in the evening	
  
4. Varying refrain  (*henjō* 変畳). “... refers to a type [of refrain] that enlivens what follows (*shimo o ikashi*) through combination of what precedes (*kami o awase*), either by reduplicating a half line with a full line, or a full line with a line and a half.” [Example follows no. 11.]
  
5. Antithetical pair  (*tsuiku* 対句). This “... refers to the combination of [two] different things to form a pair.” Moribe acknowledges that most people use this term to refer to what he calls the “refrain,” but he insists that the distinction is an important one.

*amakumo mo*  
even the clouds of heaven



*tobu tori mo*  
even the birds on the wing

*omou sora*  
[though] the sky I ponder



*nageku sora*  
[though] the sky for which I sigh  
*aonami ni*  
in the blue waves



*shirakumo n*  
in the white clouds

*i-yuki-habakari*  
are loath to move



*tobi mo noborazu*  
do not fly up (MYS #322)

*yasukaranaku ni*  
gives me no peace



*yasukaranaku ni*  
gives me no peace  
*nozomi wa taenu*  
my hopes have vanished



*namida wa tsukinu*  
my tears are spent (MYS #1524)

6. Alternating pair



(*kakutsui* 隔対). "... refers to pairings in alternate passages (*shōku* 章句)."

7. Varying pair



(*hentsui* 変対). "... refers to ... pairing of five-syllable with seven-syllable lines." [Example follows no. 9.]

8. Evoking/responding [pair]



(*shōō* 招応). "... refers to a passage that, in order to evoke something remote (*kano koto*), first states something immediate (*kono koto*), leading thence to even greater mutual accord (*ai-ōjiyuku*)."

*ura nashi to*  
as having no bay



*shio nashi to*  
as having no brine

*hito koso mirame*  
people may see it as such



*hito koso mirame*  
people may see it as such (MYS #131)

9. Call and echo



(*kankyō* 喚響). "... refers to mutual reverberation between things in different lines, as if responding to an echoing voice."

*moyuru hi o*  
a blazing fire



*furu yuko o*  
the falling snow

*yuki mote kechi*  
quenched by the snow









*hi mote kechitsutsu*  
melted by the fire (MYS #322)


10. Beginning and end






(*shubi* 首尾). "... refers to bringing to closure those things expressed


at the beginning, without aimlessness (*itazura ni narazaru yō ni*).” [Example follows no. 11.]

11. Tuned section  (*chōdan* 調段). “... in ancient waka, a type where a verse is composed in two or three sections [*dan*, also “stanzas”], and phrases (*ku*) [are used to] create each of the sections, either at the beginning of the section, or by continuing with things that are not the same.”
- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <i>yoshi e ya shi</i><br>I don't care<br>         | <i>ura wa nakedomo</i><br>though there be no bay<br>      |
| <i>yoshi e ya shi</i><br>I don't care  | <i>shio wa nakedomo</i><br>though there be no brine<br>  |
| <i>isanatori</i><br>[toward the] <whale-path><br> | <i>umibi o sashite ...</i><br>seashore ... (MYS #131)<br> |

12. Metaphor  (*hiyu* 譬喩). Also “simile.” Moribe provides no definition.


<i>Okinaga no</i> Okinaga's 	<i>ochi no kosuge</i> distant young sedge (MYS #3337) 
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13. Introductory phrase  (*joji* 序辞). Ostensibly the same as *jokotoba* 序詞 or *makurakotoba* 枕詞, used to introduce a particular image. Again, Moribe provides no definition.


*tamamo nasu*   
[like] <jeweled seaweed> [is my love] (MYS #131)

### Types of Effects


Moribe describes four types of effects that are presumably unique to *chōka* (TMZ X:119-121; NKTB IX:250-251):

1. Ranging together of objects  (*renjitsu* 連実). “... refers to the arraying of different types of real objects (*jitsubutsu*) within a single phrase.”

 <i>haru no hi wa</i> on a spring day 	 <i>yama shi migahoshi</i> one desires to see the mountains 
 <i>aki no yo wa</i> on an autumn night	 <i>kawa shi sayakeshi</i> the streams are bright (MYS #327)

2. Brilliance  (*kōsai* 光彩). “... refers to the type that, by adding words of admiration or

embellishment, expresses things beautifully (*uruwashiku*), majestically (*ogosoka ni*), and heroically (*ooshiku*).” [Example follows no. 3.]

3. Quantification  (*sūryō* 数量). “... refers to that type which, using various words of quantification, expresses things vigorously and elegantly (*tsuyoku miyabi ni*).”



*futo shikitatete*  
[its pillar] set firmly

*taka-shirasu*  
reigning loftily



*Futaki no miyawa*  
the Palace of Futaki



*kawa chikami*  
the river being close,

*senoto zo kiyoki*  
sound of rapids is clear





*yama chikami*  
mountains being close,



*tori ga ne toyomu*  
bird song resound

(MYS #1054)

4. Localization  (*hōhen* 方辺). “[This] is not always limited to types of location like ‘around the mountain’ or ‘at the seashore,’ ... but includes all usages indicating up or down, left or right, vertical or horizontal, self or other (*jita*).”

*ame no*  *shita*  
under heaven



*yashima no*  *uchi ni*  
within the eight islands (MYS #1054)



## Appendix III

Introduction	<i>Ametsuchi to</i> <i>wakareshi toki yu</i>	From the time when heaven and earth were split apart—
Proposition	<i>kami-sabite</i>	as I gaze up
	<i>takaku tōtoki</i>	at the Plain of Heaven
	<i>Suruga naru</i>	in Suruga
	<i>Fuji no takane o</i>	Fuji's lofty peak,
Statement of Significance	<i>ama no hara</i>	god-like,
	<i>furisake mireba</i>	tall and noble—
	<i>wataru hi no</i>	it hides the light
	<i>kage mo kakurai</i>	of the sun crossing the sky,
	<i>teru tsuki no</i>	and the moon's glow
	<i>hikari mo miezu</i>	remains unseen;
	<i>shirakumo mo</i>	it blocks the course
	<i>i-yuki-habakari</i>	of sailing white clouds,
Assertion	<i>toki-jiku zo</i>	and snow falls on it
	<i>yuki wa furikeru</i>	without regard for season—
Conclusion	<i>kataritsugi</i>	to each generation
	<i>iitsugi-yukamu</i>	let us tell of its fame—
Conclusion	<i>Fuji no takane wa</i>	Fuji's lofty peak! <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Chōka tamagoto*, 21v-22r. Most texts give the reading “*ametsuchi no*” in the first line.

## Appendix IV

Categories of phrases described in *Chōka tamagoto* (55r-76v).

1. Ordinary pairing (*jōtsui* 常対). This refers to “two parallel lines of five-seven syllables each of which there are countless examples in ancient verse.” One example given is from MYS #3 by Princess Nakatsu 中皇命 (d. 665):

<i>ashita ni wa</i>	<i>torinadetamai</i>
in the morning	he took out and caressed [his catalpa bow]
<i>yūbe ni wa</i>	<i>iyosetateshi</i>
and in the evening	he had it brought and set up beside him

2. “Meaning” pairs (*gitsui* 義対). “Among ordinary pairings, there are also ‘meaning’ pairs,” which are bound by related meanings, as in MYS #29 by Hitomaro:

<i>harukusa no</i>	<i>shigeku oitari</i>
it is thick	with the grasses of spring,
<i>kasumi tachi</i>	<i>haruhi no kireru</i>
the mits rise,	dimming the spring sun

3. Opposing pairs (*hantsui* 反對). These “pair things that are opposite.” One example is from MYS #16 by Princess Nukada 額田王 (638-705):

<i>momiji o ba</i>	<i>torite zo shinubu</i>
the scarlet leaves	we gather and admire,
<i>aoki o ba</i>	<i>okite zo nageku</i>
and the green ones,	we leave with regret

4. Short pairings (*tantsui* 短対). “Short pairings create an antithesis between the two parts of a five-seven line, or between two and three syllables of a five-syllable phrase, or between [two parts] of a seven-syllable phrase.” These include what Shigetoshi called *ikku-tsui*, and in fact many of the same examples are given. These include lines from MYS #4030 by Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (717?-785):

<i>moto mo e mo</i>	both root and branch
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and Hitomaro’s MYS #207

<i>iwan sube</i>	<i>sen sube shirani</i>
not knowing what to say	or do

5. Extended pairings (*chōtsui* 長対). In general, Yoshika does not have high regard for long, complex antithetical arrangements. He writes that “most of the extended antitheses in the collection [i.e., the *Man’yōshū*] consist of four lines, but some are six or even eight lines long. The long ones are inept, however, and one rarely sees even six-line antitheses among the better ancient poems.” One example given is from Hitomaro’s MYS #207:

<i>tamatasuki</i>	<i>Unebi no yama ni</i>
<i>naku tori no</i>	<i>koe mo kikoezu</i>
inaudible even the calling of birds on Mount Unebi,	
curved like a jeweled cord,	
<i>tamahoko no</i>	<i>michi yuku hito mo</i>
<i>hitori dani</i>	<i>niteshi yukaneba</i>

among all who passed on the road, straight as a jeweled spear,  
not one looked like her ...

6. Structured pairs (*soshikitsui* 組織対). These reverse the order of phrases or images. Yoshika warns that these should be employed with caution, “because in recent ages people have been careless with these structured pairs, writing many inept compositions that contain lame or strange pairings.” One example is MYS #537 by Prince Aki 安貴王:

<i>aga tame ni</i>	<i>imo mo koto naku</i>
for me,	my beloved is happy
<i>imo ga tame</i>	<i>ware mo koto naku</i>
and for her,	I too am happy

7. Divided pairs (*kakutsui* 隔対). “Without regard for the length,” these “place one couplet in the middle, flanked by paired antitheses on either side.” One example given is the anonymous MYS #3833:

<i>omoiyamu</i>	<i>waga mi hitotsu zo</i>
I alone	am sick at heart
<i>chihayaburu</i>	<i>kami ni mo na okise</i>
do not blame it	on the august deities
<i>urabesue</i>	<i>kame mo na yaki so</i>
neither seek divination	by baking a tortoise shell
<i>koishiku ni</i>	<i>itaki waga mi zo</i>
my affliction:	longing for my beloved

8. Three-phrase sequences (*senrentsui* 三連対). “Three-phrase sequences occur when a surfeit of meaning cannot be expressed in usual pairings, and the surplus ... naturally extends to a third phrase.” One example given is Yakamochi’s MYS #4184, which contains two three-phrase sequences: the first with each phrase extending over two five-seven lines, and the second with single lines of five and seven:

<i>ama no hara</i>	<i>furisakemireba</i>
<i>teru tsuki mo</i>	<i>michikakeshi yori</i>
gazing up over the vast plain of heaven, even the shining moon waxes and wanes—	
<i>ashihiki no</i>	<i>yama no konure mo</i>
<i>haru sareba</i>	<i>hana sakinioi</i>
even the treetops on the foot-dragging mountain, in spring are alive with the scent of blossoms,	
<i>aki-zukeba</i>	<i>tsuyu shimo oite</i>
<i>kaze majiri</i>	<i>momiji chirikeri ...</i>
but in autumn are covered with dew and frost, their leaves scattering in the wind ...	
<i>kurenai no</i>	<i>iro mo utsuroi</i>
even scarlet	fades with time,
<i>nubatama no</i>	<i>kurokami kawari</i>
even pitch-black	hair will grey
<i>asa no emi</i>	<i>yūbe kawarai</i>
and morning’s smile	will change in the evening